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Contents

1. Introduction
2. Chapter I
3. Chapter II
4. Chapter III
5. Chapter IV
6. Chapter V
7. Chapter VI
8. Chapter VII
9. Chapter VIII
10. Chapter IX
11. Chapter X
12. Chapter XI
13. Chapter XII
14. Chapter XIII
15. Chapter XIV
16. Chapter XV
17. Chapter XVI
18. Chapter XVII
19. Chapter XVIII
20. Chapter XIX
21. Chapter XX
22. Chapter XXI
23. Chapter XXII
24. Chapter XXIII
25. Chapter XXIV
26. Chapter XXV
27. Chapter XXVI
28. Chapter XXVII
29. Chapter XXVIII
30. Chapter XXIX
31. Chapter XXX



THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

Vol. XXII.]

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER, 1846.

[No. 12.

The North American Review on Colonization.

ARTICLE I.

A History of Colonization on the Western Coast of Africa. By ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. Philadelphia: William S. Martien. 1846. 8vo. pp. 603.

THE enterprise, the history of which Dr. Alexander has presented so much at large, originated in a desire to benefit the colored race both in this country and in Africa, the slave as well as the free. It was meant to serve the free, by providing a home where they should not be oppressed by those associations of contempt and injury which hang round them here and prevent their rising; and to help the slave, by showing that his condition can be improved by emancipation, which is now doubted by many, and not without some reason. It was believed that there were those who held slaves from a feeling of necessity, and because they considered themselves responsible for their welfare—retaining them in their service not from selfish motives, but from the sincere impression, that to dismiss them, under ordinary circumstances, would do them more harm than good. Such persons undoubt-

edly there are, quite as many as would be found, in the same relation, in any other part of the world. Notwithstanding all that is said, to the disadvantage of our country, of the glory which England has gained by her West India emancipation, no one believes that there would have been more freedom at this moment in Jamaica than in Louisiana, had it depended there, as it does here, upon the masters. Those persons must be largely blessed with faith and charity who can look over the social condition of the British empire, and believe that the English are more alert than all the rest of the world in surrendering evils and abuses which they are interested to maintain. Here and elsewhere, there are some who, from reasons of humanity, desire to escape from the unnatural relation of master to slaves; others who deplore its effects on character, both in themselves and their children; others yet who live in dread of the consequences and changes which it may possibly bring. These all, acting from various and perhaps blended motives, are willing to surrender their charge, if they can be sure that they are removing them from a bad condition to

a better. The colonization system is intended to answer this natural and reasonable demand.

But there is an impression in many minds that the plan originated in selfishness, and that the whole operation of the system is selfish from first to last. The best way to determine this point is to consider the character of those with whom it began; unless there is something which they could have expected to gain by it, there can be no ground for the suspicion. The well known divine, Dr. Hopkins, of Newport, first suggested it. Though, in his day, the relation of master and slave was not questioned as it is now, and it was not so generally admitted that man can buy no right to man, it was evident that the bondman was at the mercy of his lord, that they who have unlimited power will sometimes abuse it, and that, even if the slave should be humanely treated, it is only physical comforts which such kindness can supply, since, in order to reconcile him to his condition, his mind must be kept in darkness, thus closing the only window through which Heaven's light can reach the soul. Dr. Hopkins thought, too, that the colored race might be made the means to carry light and civilization to their African brethren, who have always been so difficult to reach. Surely, no one can ascribe his zealous philanthropy to any mercenary designs. Some years after, Doctor Thornton, a native of Virginia, brought forward a similar plan, and published an address to the free people of color in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, inviting them to go with him to Africa to establish themselves in the land of their fathers. He failed for want of means; but what earthly end could he have gained from it but labor and sorrow, had it succeeded to his utmost hopes? Dr. Finley, of New Jersey, called

the first meeting which ever was attended in this country to consider the subject; and he, Dr. Burgess, and Samuel J. Mills, who went forth to explore, and found his grave in a foreign land, were as far removed as any men can be from the suspicion of using philanthropy to veil self-interest and ambition. And it may be said in general, that those who have taken up this object have struggled against wind and tide, having no loud voices of encouragement to cheer them, and yet persevering against contempt and resistance, when it was impossible to account for their self-devotion, except by admitting that it came from the heart.

But it is said, that there are those who sustain this enterprise, not from any desire to serve the slave or the African, but simply with the view of making slavery safer and more permanent by removing the free colored people from our shores. Undoubtedly it was free men whom they expected to remove. It was not understood that any should be compelled to go; if they went at all, it must be by an act of freedom on their own part, by using the power of choice. Even had it been otherwise, had the slave been compelled to go, we cannot see the extreme cruelty of the operation; for we have the impression that slavery is a bitter state, and that whoever takes a man out of it to a land where he can breathe the air of free moral existence renders him a service, though perhaps against his will. When we see a man in the fire or the water, we may be forgiven if we do not ceremoniously ask his consent to draw him out; and if he should prefer remaining in either element, it should not be accounted inhumanity on our part, if we consulted his welfare more than his will. It may be, that some have exerted their power as masters in a last act by compelling their slaves to go; but if there have been

such cases, we do not know them, and we apprehend that they are very few. That the system has been advocated by some Southern statesmen on the ground that it makes slavery safer and surer, we readily admit; but certain it is, that the men who hold extreme opinions on the subject, believing slavery intended as a permanent blessing, are among the most jealous enemies of colonization, because they feel that the whole matter is brought under review and made to agitate the public mind in this form, when it could not be introduced in any other. If, therefore, colonization could be put down, they think that it would close the only avenue through which light can reach the minds of the masters, and prevent all discussion of the right of man to man.

There is no doubt that this is a correct impression, and in all these cases the question is not, with what views is an enterprise supported, but what is its effect likely to be. Every extended movement enlists a variety of interests and feelings; some, who are perfectly indifferent to it in one point of view, may be warmly interested when they see it in another. If one of its advocates presents it to one set of men as favorable to their interests and views, and to another set, having different interests and opinions, as favorable to theirs, it is an evident fraud and falsehood on his part; there is no excuse for his double-dealing. And so, if the appeals and reports of any association hold different language according to the point of the compass to which they are addressed, offering colonization to the South as a means to perpetuate slavery, and to the North as an instrument to undermine it, no man in his senses will undertake to excuse or defend them. The case is different, when the plan is simply presented, and each one left to judge for

himself what purpose it will answer, and why it should have claims to his friendly regard. The reasons which have weight with them may be different; they may sometimes be directly opposed to each other; one advocate, who takes one view of it, may present that view, and another, at his side, or in a distant region, may hold forth an opposite doctrine, without any moral inconsistency or prevarication. In every thing else, there is the same contradiction. Some friends of temperance are in favor of restricting laws, while others, equally sincere, believe that these create more intemperance than they suppress. Some opposers of capital punishment deny the right to take life, while others maintain the right, but would not exercise it, because it gives a murderer the aspect of a victim. Thus it is that men travel in different paths to the same result; and it is no reproach to a cause, if it should be sustained from views and inducements various and even contradictory, since it has been so with every enterprise since the world began.

But while the scheme of colonization presents itself in various aspects to different classes of its supporters, and we are not aware that its advocates lie open to any charge of perverting or suppressing the truth, though it is not seen alike by all, it is well known that a great prejudice has been exerted against it, and that, too, in a part of the country where it might have expected the warmest welcome. It was not so in the beginning; the friends of humanity and freedom in New England at first were deeply interested in it; it seemed to open precisely the way that was wanted, in which philanthropy could touch the subject of slavery without throwing off constitutional restraints, or calling up the fierce resistance of the masters. For a time, the only objection made to it was the poverty

of its resources, and the vastness of the work which it proposed to do. This objection was met, by showing that all beginnings must be small; it is only by slowly and heavily piling one stone on another, that foundations are ever laid; that it was far better to make thorough, even if lingering, preparation for the work, than to have a multitude thrown into the new colony at once, without a mass to receive them in which their ignorance and barbarism could be melted down. Discouraging as such beginnings are, it is evident, in looking back on every such enterprise, that their hopelessness at first has been their greatest blessing, calling out patient hope, inspiring successive as well as strong endeavors, and giving the new elements time to ripen into consistency and hardness, to bear the weight that shall afterwards come.

As to the work which it proposed to accomplish, it was not supposed that mere efforts of private liberality would remove the vast slave population of the country, increasing every year, as it does, by tens of thousands. If the States interested would consent to the surrender, and the nation put its energy to the endeavor, no doubt it could be done; but no one ever imagined that a voluntary association, however extended in its numbers, or liberal in its contributions, could any more relieve this continent from its burden than they could dip the ocean dry. Still, there was something which was entirely within their power: they could make an experiment, to show, that, under favorable circumstances, the emancipated slave could throw off his degradation, expand to the full proportion of intellectual manhood, form an energetic and practical character, and learn to respect himself and command the respect of others; yet more, that, with his powers thus

drawn out, he could give to the world the example of a moral, well ordered, and free community, with wise laws, administered by efficient members, and not indebted to the white man for counsel or guidance; and, reasoning on common principles of human nature, it was believed that such a colony would send an inviting light across the deep, that slaves would hear of it and be earnest to go, that masters would feel that there they might safely send them, and thousands would find their way to it unaided and of themselves, as men always succeed in arriving at any destination which they strongly desire to reach. In all this there is nothing visionary. The slender resources of the colony, though a discouragement, have proved a blessing; the corner-stone has been slowly and surely laid; and the time is not distant, when it shall be a matter of attraction, and interest, and rejoicing to the colored race in this country and the world.

These objections, which met the plan in the outset, being answered, it was prosperous and successful for a time. But the subject of slavery was kept before the public mind, and inquiry began to be made concerning the foundation of the master's right to the slave. If the possession came by inheritance, the father could not transmit to the son a stronger claim than he had himself; if he bought from the slave-dealer, the trader could transfer only his own title; and this came originally from the African chief, who destroyed and plundered some village, that he might sell his wretched captives for gunpowder and rum. His only claim was that of the robber to the goods he had stolen; so that, on looking into the validity of deeds, it became tolerably clear, that, if the slave was a man and not an animal, he had the best right to himself,—a right of which he could

not be dispossessed by any act of power. By such processes of reasoning, the idea of the right to emancipation became familiar to the public mind; and any thing which appeared to deny that right, or to assume that the slave was not in a condition to claim it or be the better for it, was looked on as an excuse for injustice and oppression. All at once, an attempt was made to persuade those who took a humane interest in the subject, that the colonization scheme maintained the unfitness of the slave to be free, and discouraged the hope that, under any circumstances, he could rise to the dignity and station of a man.

It was not easy to understand how this suggestion could gain credit, when the whole object of the society was to make him free, and to place him in circumstances propitious to the full development of his powers. To be sure, it went on the supposition that, as things are now, there is no place in this country where he can be situated thus. Go where he may, he encounters a cruel prejudice, which weighs him down like a millstone, excluding him from the honors and comforts of life, and reminding him, with perpetual insult, that he belongs to an inferior race; a prejudice so deeply ingrained in the public mind, that many, who are kind and generous in other relations, are hard as the rock in this. Now, the question is, what shall be done for his relief? Shall he submit to these heart-breaking sorrows in silence, waiting till the time shall come for a general change in the public feeling, which may not come till long after he is in the dust? or shall he take advantage of a way of escape that opens, and relieve himself, by passing to a more favored region, where none can stand above him or trample him down? His master is desirous to send him to such a coun-

try, and he is desirous to go. Why should they not be gratified? What possible advantage can result to any one from keeping him in bondage, when he may as well be free? If it be said, that these cases of occasional release exert an influence adverse to the more extensive deliverance which might give the same blessing to greater numbers, it might be well to show how the manumission of one can, by any imaginable effect, be unpropitious to the manumission of all. It should be remembered, that sending the slave to Africa is in itself an act of emancipation; and, so far from being predicated on the idea that he never can be a self-sustained and energetic man, the whole theory of colonization is founded on the idea, that it is only his present condition which debases him, and if that can be changed, he will be intelligent, energetic, and happy as any of the sons of men. It really affords almost the only mode of immediate emancipation, recommending it as wisdom in the master and justice to the slave; and yet there are many, who, for no reason except that some one has told them so, will maintain to the death, that colonization and emancipation are inconsistent with and hostile to each other.

We are well aware, that the free people of color in this country have now a great prejudice against expatriation. This, they say, is their native land, and why should they leave it? Ay, why *should* they leave it, if they can find an inducement to stay? Egypt was the native land of Moses and the Israelites; but their native air was not particularly good for their constitutions, and though they sometimes sighed for it in their discontent, they would doubtless have been sorry enough to have been taken at their word, and sent back again to the flesh-pots, cucumbers, and melons, not to speak of the brick-

yards. We cannot see the especial fascination in any part of this country, which should make a separation from it so heart-rending. We apprehend that, if our portion in it was like theirs, we should sound a retreat at the first opportunity, and without incurring the penalty of Lot's wife by looking back on the forsaken home. It passes our comprehension to discover what they can find here, in the way either of enjoyment or hope, that should be so difficult to resign. It is true, that better days may come in process of time; but meanwhile, it would seem as well to go to better days wherever they can find them, even if beyond the sea. But this is matter of taste; and if the colored citizens of America prefer their present condition, such as it is, no one asks them to leave it; they are at perfect liberty to remain to the end of time, if such is their pleasure.

But there may be those who see better prospects opening before them in other regions, who, even if the chance of improving their condition were less than it is, would gladly embrace it, being strongly convinced that any change must be for the better. There is no more reason why they should be forced to stay than why others should be compelled to go; and yet this constraint is imposed upon them, if they are deprived of this place of refuge. Should the colony be put down, they would be obliged to content themselves with what they have in this country, where, so far as we can understand, their portion and hope are as small and uninviting as ever fell to the lot of man. Now, while we should abominate the compulsion that forced any one to go, we cannot see that there is any less hardship in being required to stay unwillingly, as they must, if the wishes and predictions of many with respect to the colonies

were made good. It is as a kind of emancipation that we are most interested in it; it has the advantage of being consistent with the law, acceptable to the masters, and, as these considerations are not wholly disregarded by reasonable men, is more likely than any other form to be generally adopted.

There is a common impression, however, that these plans of colonization increase the prejudice against the colored race. Whether this impression is held by any in good faith, or simply given to others, it is not easy to say; for how any one in his senses can trace such an effect to such a cause is more than we can tell. Undoubtedly, the scheme of colonization admits that there is such a prejudice; none lament it or suffer from it more than the colored race themselves; but to say that colonization excuses, defends, or has any tendency to maintain it, is very much like the popular faith of childhood, which ascribes the origin of the wind to the agitation of the tree. It allows and deplures its existence, we mean so far as our observation and sympathy extend; there may be those who think the prejudice natural, and not to be overcome; but this view of the matter is not ours. We look on colonization as the only means at present existing to place the colored man where he shall not be crushed down with its weight, and it is chiefly for this very reason that we wish it success, and aid it with our best endeavors. If the inquiry be made, why we do not give battle to this prejudice, we answer, it is not because we do not condemn and deplore it, but because we have never seen prevailing ideas and feelings suddenly changed by direct assault; and we think it better in general to help out those who are struggling with the waters, than to dam the current, or wait for it to run by.

Besides these objections, which are made to any plan of colonization, and which one would think would have as much force in reference to the British provinces as in their African application, much has been said in opposition to the colonial settlements now existing. We are told that they are unhealthy, and that great sacrifice of life has attended the efforts to plant them. It is true, that, in former days, many have perished in consequence of being suddenly transferred to a climate the peculiarities and demands of which they did not know. But it would not be easy to find a region on this earth where people will not sometimes die; had there been such, it would by this time have been tolerably well peopled by emigration, as well as by its own supply. But while it is true, that the common doom of mortality extends to the African settlements, it is not easy to show that the waste of life is greater than, under similar circumstances, it would be in any other land. We find, when the facts are known with respect to the death of many enterprising travellers, that they became sick in consequence of thoughtless exposure to the nightly chill. So, in the colonies, while insufficient preparation was made to receive the emigrants, and physicians had not learned the proper treatment of local diseases, there was as much sickness and loss, perhaps, as at Plymouth in the earlier days. But as the settlements extend their accommodations, and medical men make themselves acquainted with the complaints which at first were new to them, the danger disappears, and the prudent are in as little danger as in their American home.

Another objection to Liberia is, that the inhabitants have not devoted themselves as much to the cultivation of the soil as might be desired.

It is undoubtedly true, that this employment is more favorable to a healthy moral state than any other, though less attractive to indolence and ambition. As was intimated in the foundation of the Hebrew commonwealth, men engaged in agriculture are more likely to have that social equality, and that independence of feeling, which exert propitious influences to make and keep them free. But while any friend to a young republic would desire and recommend this employment for the great body of the people, it is obviously impossible to force it upon them; they will, according to the common experience of human nature, turn their attention to the pursuit which promises immediate gain. If traffic and commercial advantages are within reach, these will at first prove most attractive; they will bring with them tastes not the most favorable to content, industry, or moral improvement and elevation. It is not till the sorrowful experience of many shows that every one cannot succeed in these pursuits, and that many blanks will be drawn to a single prize, that the quiet culture of the soil will be estimated as it deserves. But there is a stage of social progress in which the common illusion on this subject passes away. We may now see in New England how many are withdrawing themselves from the dusty and crowded paths of common life, from unprofitable trade and thronged professions, where the chances are many to one against them, to seek a subsistence in those agricultural pursuits, which, if less gainful in respect to wealth, are more apt and sure to yield returns of the higher treasures of character, mind, and heart.

There are some, too, who have the impression, that the Liberian experiment has been a failure; that the inhabitants are neither prosperous nor

happy; that the tone of morals is low among them; and, although some of them have become wealthy, that the greater number are poor and degraded, having gained nothing, but rather lost, if that is possible, by their translation to Africa. If this were so, it would be conclusive evidence against their power of rising; so far as it went, it would show that they are wholly unfit for freedom, and need to be under the authority of others; it would confirm all that the despisers of the colored race have said of their natural inferiority and their necessary dependence; for one cannot imagine how the experiment should be tried under more favorable circumstances, and if it has not succeeded, there is no hope that it would prosper if tried again, in this land or in any other. But so far from finding this depressing view of Liberia confirmed, on examination, the weight of testimony is entirely on the other side. Some disappointed persons, doubtless, there have been; some white men who have left the colony in disgust, and published unfavorable representations of it. But on looking into the matter, it does not appear that they were so sick of Liberia, as the colony was of them. The colored persons who have abandoned the undertaking became disgusted at finding that they must exert themselves there as at home, and that, unless they labored for their subsistence, they must suffer even more than in this country, since there was no master on whom they could lean.

But by far the most fluent and sweeping testimony against the colonies has been given by those who never saw them, and who have no light whatever on the subject, except what a predetermined and deadly hatred gives. On the other hand, evidence is given in favor of Liberia by the officers of our navy, by mas-

ters of trading-ships, by residents who have returned, and by more colonists than one can number—men who could have no motive to mislead the public, and whose characters forbid the suspicion of falsity. These all bear witness to the moral habits and social order of the people, their prevailing activity and intelligence, the abundance of talent and energy which they manifest, and their rapid advance in all the improvements of civil and domestic life. The churches and schools are well attended, the Sabbath is observed more faithfully than in any city of our land, the courts of justice are in steady and successful operation, the interests of the mind are properly regarded, and religion holds a place as high in the general respect and affection as in any part of the world. Really, no one, who is not determined never to believe, can resist the conviction, that all the promises and predictions of the founders have been made good. Considering the materials of which the colonies necessarily consisted, it is wonderful that they have come forward in civil and moral strength so soon. Neglected by friends and resisted by angry opposers, they have laid the foundations of an enlightened and powerful state, and the walls are already rising. We cannot understand how it is, that any, who wish to prove that the colored race are capable of manly action and self-sustaining energy, should reject the evidence which this history affords them. They may look in vain in other directions to find any testimony so satisfactory and convincing; and if they say that they need no such testimony, they must remember that others do, and that their doubts and sneers can only be answered by showing what colored men have done. Where can such illustration be found in successful action, except in a field like this?

One of the greatest recommendations of the system of colonization is the effect it will have on the continent of Africa, not only by affording a starting-point and place of protection for missionaries, which otherwise they could not find, but still more by its tendency to suppress the slave trade, that most accursed of all sins and evils, which nothing else hitherto has been able to reach. The British government has exerted itself, apparently in good faith and feeling, to put an end to these horrible adventures; but it is freely confessed, that their maritime power, great as it is, can hardly reach this traffic, and that it has continued to thrive and grow under all efforts to put it down. So long as the gain of such voyages is great, wretches will be found every where to fit out vessels for the trade and to man them, and if they are detected and pursued, their living cargoes, which might have testified against them, are drowned in the depths of the sea. But while the fleets of great nations are baffled in their endeavors, these small colonies, composed of colored men, having sympathy for their brethren, are able to say and to maintain, that the slave trade shall not pollute their ground; their influence with the natives goes far to prevent their engaging in it; and the avenues of fair and innocent commerce which they open withdraw the natives from violence and blood. It is made clear, by successful experiment, that where such colonies are established the slave trade cannot come. Since every other attempt to suppress it is hopeless, and this is the only one which promises any success, every one who wishes to put an end to it must rejoice in the prosperity of these settlements, and give his willing aid to extend them. The only objection that can be made is, that they are not strong enough for the

purpose, and this should be a reason for enlarging their means and numbers, and thus giving them more power for the work.

The history of this enterprise, as it is here recorded, is one of great interest even now, though the results of the movement are as yet but imperfectly developed. Before its consequences can open upon us, it must have reached its full stature. It has not yet passed through its childhood, or at most its forming state. But enough already appears to make it certain, that it will maintain its existence; that it will be a strong and flourishing republic, and, like other republics, with all its faults, it will be a refuge for the oppressed; that it will have power to drive the slave trade from its borders, and to send the light of humanity into the darkness of the continent, where it stands, like sunlight on the edge of a black cloud, giving promise that the shadow shall pass away. They who are disposed to ascribe its origin to selfishness should remember that it was commenced by private liberality, not that of slaveholders, but principally of those who could derive no advantage from it beyond the gratification of their benevolent feeling. Some of the States, also, have taken measures to establish colonies for themselves, and it is to be hoped that others will follow their example. But the national government, somewhat embarrassed perhaps by the relations in which it stands, has done nothing for it which is entitled to the name of patronage; and pert and conceited officers of other nations have shown a disposition to tyrannize over it, by the exertion of brief authority in some unreasonable ways, which it is hoped that their superiors will disavow. The streams of private charity have been largely and liberally flowing, and efforts the most constant and unwearied

have been made by its disinterested friends. No popular enthusiasm has lifted and borne it onward, but every where it has been sustained by the thoughtful convictions of the wise and good. More than once, it has encountered a tempest of resistance which would have destroyed it, had it been less firmly set in the conscience and affection of its supporters—but which, as it is, has given it a deeper root, a mightier bough, and a richer depth of foliage, to shelter those who sit under its extending shade.

Any one who associates the idea of selfishness with colonization would do well to consider how many martyrs have laid down their lives for it, martyrs not precisely of the kind so popular just now, who stand at a sufficient distance from all danger, and abuse the sinner, instead of endeavoring to influence him to give up the sin—but of the more genuine sort, who hold comfort, safety, and life itself in light esteem, if, by surrendering them, they can be of service to the cause of man. Samuel J. Mills, before alluded to, was a man of this description; he poured his full heart into every work of love. His most earnest desire was to preach the Gospel to the Africans, and it was with a view to this work that he became an explorer in the service of the Society, and contracted the disease of which he died. He found much to encourage him in the intelligent views which some of the natives suggested. One of them remarked, that it would be well to have the direction of the enterprise in the hands of colored men, since the neighboring tribes would dread the encroaching spirit of the whites much more than that of their own kin. Another said, that, as soon as a colored man capable of the trust could be found for a chief of the colony, he ought by all means to be

placed at its head; precisely the course which the directors have thought it wise to pursue.

The next of these devoted men was Samuel Bacon, an Episcopal clergyman, who interested himself in the subject, and was employed by the government as agent to take care of slaves delivered from the slave-ships. The emigrants who went with him were most of them taken sick with the acclimating fever; his strength was exhausted by his unwearied attendance upon them; his spirit was severely tried by their jealous and unreasonable upbraidings; he found himself deceived by a native on whose faithfulness he thought he could rely. But while all things seemed to be against him, and the prospects of the enterprise were dark and low, he declared that his faith in colonization was strong as ever, for he had actually seen Africans landed in America suffering as much and in the same manner as the emigrants there; while the surprising fertility of the soil, the mildness of the climate, the commercial advantages, the great abundance of fish and wild animals, seemed like an invitation to the scattered children of Africa to return to their home. As for himself, he had counted the cost of the service, and had made up his mind to die in it, if necessary. It was not long before he was weighed down with anxiety and labor. In the sickness which followed, he had neither medical attendance nor proper care; and it was not long before he died, with a resigned spirit, and with unbroken confidence in the cause for which he had left his native land.

Another of these martyrs was Dr. Randall, of Maryland, a physician of great promise, who had been elected to a professorship in Columbia College. After the death of Ashmun, he felt it to be his duty to de-

vote himself to the object in which he had been interested before, and therefore, against the remonstrances of his friends; he resigned all prospects of success and honor at home for the sake of rendering service to his race. Unfortunately, his zeal outran his strength. He exposed himself to the sun by day and the damps by night in a fatiguing journey, and, thinking more of his duties than his dangers, he became a victim, not so much to the climate, as to his earnest desire of doing good. Mr. Erskine, also, a colored Presbyterian divine from Tennessee, went out with his family to preach the Gospel to the Africans, but was soon taken from his field of labor, after having followed his wife and daughter to the grave. Dr. Anderson, of Maryland, was another who left bright prospects and warm friends at home to labor in the service of humanity abroad; but very soon after he landed in the colony, he was called from his difficult station to his eternal rest.

Many such examples there have been, to show how much generous self-devotion has been manifested in this cause. It may seem like a needless waste of life, but almost all these physicians bore witness that the unrelenting fever was not more alarming in Liberia than in our Southern States. And as for the expenditure of life, it seems to be ordered by Providence that such shall be the history of every similar adventure. The loss of such friends becomes a gain to the enterprise, from the spirit which it awakens in others; and there can be no loss to those who, with true philanthropy, lay down their lives, a willing sacrifice, in the cause of humanity and of God.

But this interesting cause, besides affording examples of great self-sacrifice, has called into its service some men of extraordinary power as well

as philanthropy, who, in a larger field, would have been admired for their talent and energy, and in their small circle manifested high gifts, and made efforts which will hereafter be remembered with honor and applause. The first of these was Mr. Ashmun, who went to Liberia in 1823. Educated for the ministry, he was wholly untrained for business and war; and was thrown at once into the midst of danger which threatened the existence of the colony. Its means and resources, inadequate at the best, were all in disorder, and he had no time to arrange them before the blow should fall. Much of the public property had been consumed by fire; the emigrants were not properly sheltered, though the rainy season had set in; defences there were none, and not three dozen persons were able to bear arms. He was worn down with sickness; after nights of delirium, he was compelled to spend the day in labor; and his wife, who had come to share his fortunes, was rapidly sinking by his side. Certainly such a state of things was enough to fill the strongest and most experienced with dismay. But instead of yielding to depression, he proceeded to arrange the public affairs, providing for responsibility and order in every department. He erected buildings for the emigrants and the public stores; he himself planned fortifications and superintended their erection, while he armed and disciplined the few soldiers that the small settlement was able to supply. So far from finding at home rest and relief from his multiplied labors, nothing can be more affecting than the account of the death-bed where his wife lay, in a miserable hut, which could not be ventilated, with the rain falling through the thatched roof upon her pillow and bed, and he, scarcely able to support his own

weight, was leaning over her, while she expressed her perfect and contented resignation to a Heavenly Father's will. Surely the imagination cannot conceive a state of things which would make a heavier demand on the energies of the mind and heart.

At length, the whole force of the neighboring tribes was concentrated in a powerful assault upon the colony. This was bravely and successfully resisted. Again they came on with greater violence and numbers, while the ranks of the defenders were thinned and their strength exhausted with watching by night and labor by day. Again they were repulsed with fearful slaughter. But the ammunition of the colony was exhausted, the provisions nearly gone, the wounded suffering every thing for the want of surgical skill. Still, his confidence never failed, for it was reposed not in any human resources, but in the favor and blessing of the Most High. Neither was it disappointed; for the cannonade of the last engagement was heard at midnight by the crew of a British vessel, which *happened*, as men say, to be passing, though there is no such thing as chance. Major Laing, the traveller, who was on board, inquired into the cause of the firing, and when he found the little colony struggling for existence against all the tribes of the coast, generously supplied them with the means of future resistance, and, what was better, exerted a mediating influence with the assailants, which resulted in a friendly treaty, and an honorable and lasting peace.

All this, one would think, was enough for one man; but after all he had done for the colony, Mr. Ashmun was suffering from the jealousy of the Society at home; in some way or other, injurious reports had reached them, and awakened suspi-

cion. At the same time the colonists were in a state of open mutiny, which it required all his energy to keep down. But he could not be driven from his post of duty by violent resistance or unmerited reproach. By inflexible faithfulness, he compelled the rebellious to submit to his authority, and his employers to do justice to his name; and it was not till his character stood not only clear but highly honored, and all acknowledged the cause to be more indebted to him than to any other man, that he returned to his home, not to enjoy his honors, but to die almost at the moment of reaching his native land.

Eleven years after the death of Ashmun, the colony was happy in securing the services of another remarkable man, Thomas Buchanan, who was appointed by the government as agent for taking charge of the recaptured Africans. The several colonies were now united into a sort of federal association, called the commonwealth of Liberia, of which he was the executive head. From a timid and despondent condition, it had grown into firmness and strength, and what it wanted was a clear mind to arrange all its elements and resources, and a powerful character to make its influence felt and understood. Buchanan's first act was to seize a vessel under American colors, which hovered on the coast in such a manner as to give the impression that it was a slaver. This was a bold step, and exposed him to serious consequences, if he should have mistaken her character; but when he considered the detestable effect of the trade upon the races near him, he did not shrink from the most determined acts of duty. He also directed a slaver, who had established himself at Little Bassa, to leave the place. The colony claimed jurisdiction there, though its right to the soil

was questioned. An English trader, at the same time, established a factory there, and when he was ordered to leave it, insolently refused. Encouraged by this example, the slaver, who had promised to depart, determined to remain, and carried on his vile business more openly and largely than before. Mr. Buchanan took with him a military force to the spot, and after a sharp engagement destroyed the factories, seized the goods, and compelled the native chiefs to give up the slaves who had been carried into their countries to escape his reach. These vigorous proceedings against the slave trade exasperated some of the native princes, and Gatoomba, one of the most powerful of their number, made an attack on some of the more exposed settlements, one of which was defended in a remarkable manner by three brave and resolute men. Finding that both colonists and natives were to suffer from this marauder, who was so savage and daring that two peaceful envoys who were sent to him were murdered in cold blood, the governor marched with a force against him, broke up the foundations of his power, and deprived him of the means of carrying on his work of cruelty and death again. A more perplexing difficulty arose within the colony, from the claim of the Methodist mission, which had been permitted to receive its supplies from home in goods that were admitted without paying duties. He was willing that all articles intended for the personal use of the missionaries should be imported thus, but would not consent that they should enjoy an unrestricted privilege, which might throw the whole trade of the colony into their hands. In all these cases, some of which were severely trying, he bore himself with a manly decision, which commanded universal respect and confidence. But just

at the moment when the colony was receiving the greatest benefit from his services, he died. He had had time, however, to prepare the way for delivering over the chief authority into the hands of colored men, to whom, on all accounts, it is desirable that it should in future be confided.

It is still more interesting to contemplate the examples of colored men who have distinguished themselves in this history, because they prove the truth of the leading principle of the enterprise, which is, that color does not strike inward—that, place the African in favorable circumstances for putting forth his energies, and he will not be found wanting in any respect, either in activity of mind, or in strength and determination of heart. The most distinguished illustration of this truth (we do not speak of the living) was Lott Carey, who had so strongly impressed Mr. Ashmun, no common observer, with a sense of his merits, that, when he returned to his own country, he left his office in Mr. Carey's hands, earnestly recommending him as his permanent successor. This person was originally a slave in Richmond, Virginia, rather corrupt and profane in his habits, till, at the age of twenty-six, he became a Christian believer. Feeling the disadvantages of his ignorance, he learned at that age to read and write, and, as he had much natural eloquence, he addressed his brethren with great force on the subject of their religious duties. Meantime, he became so trustworthy and efficient in the tobacco-warehouse where he was employed, that he was soon able to buy his own liberty and that of two children, and the salary paid him for his services was eight hundred dollars a year. But prosperous and respected as he was, he determined to go where, as he said, he

should be "estimated according to his deserts and not his complexion." He felt bound, also, to use his advantages to do something for his suffering race.

After he had been ordained as a preacher according to the usage of the Baptists, he proceeded to Liberia, where, retiring as he was, he soon made his real character felt, and was treated with the respect which he deserved. At the time when most of the colonists were in favor of breaking up the settlement, and retreating to Sierra Leone, on account of the dangers which beset them, he declared his fixed purpose to remain, and thus encouraged them by his firm example. When they had no physician among them, he undertook to do his best, and by means of his good sense and experience, he was able to inspire full confidence in his patients, and, in a very extensive practice which was thus forced upon him, he met with great success. The only exceptionable part of his history was his joining the seditious persons who set Mr. Ashmun's authority at defiance, and seized the public stores. But when the governor publicly represented to them the true character and tendency of their proceedings, Mr. Carey came forward at once, openly confessed his error, and ever after was among the friends and supporters of law. All this while he did not neglect his original mission, but gave his attention to the establishment of schools and churches, and particularly interested himself in teaching the recaptured slaves. He felt himself under obligation to Africa also, and went far into the interior, founding places of instruction, where the natives could be taught the language and religion of the colonists, which many of them were earnest to know. His death was occasioned by an explosion of gun-

powder, while he was preparing to assert the rights of the colony, and drive off a slaver who had established himself within a few miles' distance; and even the loss of Ashmun was hardly more felt than his. During the six months of his administration, he had borne himself with great dignity, inspiring respect at home and abroad. He was perhaps more welcome to the settlers than any other person could have been, because he was a living example to show that the colored man was equal to every trust of duty or of honor. Happily the same confirmation is now afforded by Governor Roberts, whose able and satisfactory management of public affairs most of our readers know; and who we hope will long be spared to the community over which he so well presides.

If such examples can be found among those who were born in bondage, and therefore were most unfavorably situated for cultivating and bringing out the powers that were in them, who can doubt that the coming generation will afford innumerable more? The atmosphere one breathes is very important to the health and strength of the physical nature; it is a sort of miracle if the system reaches its full vigor and proportions in a corrupted air, and such cases prove much more than if found in a different condition. When we find men formerly slaves conducting the public affairs of the colony, filling the places of trust and honor, firmly maintaining its rights, bravely defending its borders, managing its correspondence with Europeans in such a manner as to inspire respect and confidence, and, what is more, showing that the intellectual and religious interests of the people are near their hearts, it seems to us to afford volumes of eloquent pleading in behalf of the slave, and to establish the fact, that such a field of action and im-

provement is one which the colored race are blind to their own interests not to prize. They may say that they know their own interests best; it may be so; but men, before now, have mistaken what was good for them, when they thought they saw it clearly. We do not perceive that their color gives them any better means of judgment than others possess; and to us it seems clear, that, in disowning Liberia, they indulge a suicidal prejudice, which their children, if not they, will remember with sorrow in future days. We do not say that other places may not be better, but we do say that this commonwealth fully answers the purpose for which it was founded, by showing that the colored race can be efficient, self-sustained, respected and happy, without needing the aid or counsel of white men, and in a republic entirely their own.

How it is that the free colored race can look with complacency on their condition in any part of this country is more than we can understand. True, it may be better at some future day than it is now; we hope and trust that it will. But we speak of it as it is now, and surely there is no immediate prospect of a change for the better; and we cannot comprehend why they should wish to detain those who are desirous to make the experiment of other influences and a more favored land. No community, one would think, can afford a better home for the free colored man than Boston; and yet, in comparison with Liberia, what story has Boston to tell?

“By an authentic document in the nature of a report rendered this year [1837] to the ‘Boston Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race,’ we are enabled to run a statistical parallel between the people of the colony of Liberia, in Africa, and the free people of co-

lor in the city of Boston, in America. In Liberia, more than one in every four of the inhabitants are church members. In Boston, less than one in every seven of the colored people are church members. In Liberia, there are five hundred and eighty pledged members of temperance societies; in Boston there is not one, as appears from the tabular view. In Liberia, every child of sufficient age, of the families of the colonists, was at regular school; in Boston, the proportion was so small and so uncertain as to be really not comparable. In Boston, a primary school for colored children had to be discontinued for want of scholars; in Liberia, fifteen schools could not satisfy the people, clamorous for the education of themselves and their offspring. In Liberia, the inhabitants support, both by their pecuniary and by their literary contributions, an ably conducted paper—they cannot only generally read, but can generally write and compose in a correct and manly style, as our quotations therefrom abundantly testify; in Boston, scarcely any of the adults were able to read, ‘and of children so reported some discount must be made.’ In Boston, ‘a majority of all classes of them attend public worship very irregularly;’ in Liberia, the people are a ‘peculiarly church-going people, nor could love or money influence any of them to labor on the Sabbath.’”—p. 543.

Some may think that the colored persons would not be the better for connexion with the churches; some of their friends have been exceedingly busy to bring the church into disesteem with them, and thus have done fatal injury to those whom they probably meant to serve. But to the eye of common sense, the fact just stated tells very much in favor of the home beyond the sea.

In Boston, the colored race are

diminishing,* and the number of unmarried persons is great, a fact which bodes no good to the coming generations. In Liberia, the inhabitants are increasing, and the state of society is encouraging in every respect of prosperity and morals. Now, it seems to us, that, if we were of their number, and the lines had fallen to us in our Northern capital, we should strike our tent with all possible expedition, and proceed to a more genial home. If we were reminded that we were born in America, we should answer that it was quite sufficient for us, and we should take care to die in some more friendly and favored land. This, however, is matter of taste and opinion, which each one must determine for himself; but we lament to say, that, as the prejudice against them grows out of the memory of their bondage, even if slavery should come to an end to-morrow, it must be a long time before the impression of their inferiority and all the associations connected with it would be done away.

We recommend this work to those who desire to know something of one of the most remarkable enterprises of the age. It is true, its history is young, and the events here recorded have been passing before us; but we think very little of such incidents as they are served to us piecemeal in the public prints. It is not till we see the whole movement at a single view, that we can understand its greatness, or form any conjecture as to its results in a future day. It has yet much to contend with; as our government cannot take

it under its full protection, it must depend in a great measure upon the sense of honor and right which prevails among the nations of the earth. We wish it could place more ample confidence in this moral sense; but, if the conscience of nations is weak, there is nothing which any one of them could gain by injury to Liberia, and this is a guaranty on which it can more safely rely. Sometimes a small naval officer may glory over it, in the wantonness of power which has been committed to his unworthy hands; but it is hoped that such airs of importance will be prevented, if not censured; they cannot be permitted without reproach to the nation which allows them. Our own officers have done themselves great honor by the kind and manly interest which they have manifested in the colony, and the open testimony in its favor which they have been ready to give. We hope that it will be strong enough to work out its own results in peace. Prejudice itself cannot well point out any harm which it can do; while there is good reason to hope that it will afford a refuge for the oppressed, and be the means of making to injured Africa some late atonement for its numberless wrongs.

We say again, then, that we support this enterprise as a measure of emancipation. We look upon it as allowing the claim of the slave to be free, urging on his master the duty of releasing him, and expressing full confidence that he can be enlightened, happy, and free, when removed from the operation of that prejudice which here weighs him down. So

* Mr. Lemuel Shattuck's able report on the census of Boston taken in 1845 contains a table, on page 43, from which we borrow the following facts. In 1742, of the whole population of the city, 8.39 per cent. were colored persons; in 1800, they were only 4.7; in 1825, 3.29; in 1835, 2.24; and in 1845, but 1.61 per cent. In 1840, the whole number of colored persons in Boston was 1,988; in 1845, the number was reduced to 1,842; yet, in these five years, the total population of the city had increased from about 85,000 to 114,366, or 34.54 per cent.

far from admitting that the prejudice in question has any foundation in truth and reason, we think it baseless and unjust; and we see no means so efficient to remove it, as to give the slave a chance to show the world what his energies, exerted for himself, can do. If we could see or imagine a way in which colonization would prolong the existence of slavery, it is the last thing in which we should be interested; but while we do not doubt the sincerity of those who ascribe this effect to it, we cannot trace the steps of their reasoning, nor understand the state of mind in which these impressions are welcomed as true. To our apprehension, it is clear, that whatever keeps this subject before the public mind, without exciting bad passions, is favorable to the progress of truth. It

is well known that this form of emancipation is tolerated and practised where no other would be possible. If any one sends his slaves to Liberia, it is a declaration on his part either that it is his duty to surrender them, or that he thinks they can be better off elsewhere than in the house of bondage. In both cases, his testimony is favorable to the cause of freedom; others will be influenced by it: and thus a sense of the value of liberty, and the right and capacity of the slave to enjoy it, will gradually make its way from heart to heart. All may not travel up to this conviction in precisely the same way; but this is of little importance, if they only arrive at the truth, that every man should be his own master, and that all have a right to be free.

[From the Newark Daily Advertiser.]

Annual Report of the New Jersey Colonization Society.

THE ninth annual meeting of this society was held at the lecture room of the First Presbyterian church last evening, WILLIAM RANKIN, Esq., one of the vice presidents, presiding. The minutes of the last annual meeting, and the proceedings of the executive committee, having been read and approved, J. P. JACKSON, Esq., the corresponding secretary, read the annual report, as follows:

ANNUAL REPORT.

The managers of the New Jersey State Colonization Society, in submitting their annual report, are bound to give thanks to the Author of all good for the success with which he has crowned their efforts to promote the cause confided to their care.

It is a subject of congratulation to all the friends of the colonization society, that the parent Society were able to pay off the debt which for many years retarded their movements.

In their last annual report they state the fact with much thankfulness, and at the same time they announced that the subscription of \$20,000 for the purpose of purchasing additional territory on the coast of Africa, was completed.

It gives us pleasure to say, that one of our own fellow-citizens, R. L. COLT, Esq., of Paterson, subscribed \$1,000 to this object.

Your managers have long been convinced that nothing was wanting to ensure a more general co-operation of Jersey men in the good cause we advocate, but fuller information respecting our plans, our successes, and our prospects. Under this conviction, we subscribed for 500 copies of the "*Liberia Advocate*," a monthly paper published at St. Louis, Missouri, and edited with great ability by Rev. ROBERT S. FINLEY, a son of the founder of the American Colonization Society. We have di-

rected this paper to be sent for a year to every minister of the Gospel in the state, and to other influential citizens. And we hope to reap abundant fruit in coming years from the information thus diffused.

The subscription of Mr. WILLIAM RANKIN is, by his request, devoted to the payment of these papers.

During the past month we have been able to send to the colonial store valuable goods, amounting to \$288, that is to say :

2,608 yards of calico prints, from Mr. GEORGE BIRD, of Belleville, valued at \$208 64. A quantity of of hats valued at \$50, from Mr. P. S. DURYEE, of Newark.

Hollow ware, valued at \$30, from Mr. WILLIAM SAVERY, of Jersey City, besides a donation of the same amount from the same gentleman last spring. Making the amount of goods sent to the colonial store, for the benefit of the American Colonization Society, \$318 64.

We have also received from Mr. JOHN CHADWICK, in goods, \$21 60.

Our agent has collected in money the following sums, viz :

In Morristown, \$41 40—Belvidere, \$20—Hightstown, \$6 68—Newark, \$281 51, besides \$100 from William Rankin as above—Piscataway, \$3 82—Belleville, \$60—Acquackanonk, \$20—Somerville, \$11 50—Bloomfield, \$39—Camptown, \$10—Bridgeton, \$17—Trenton, \$66—Waterford Glass Works, \$10—Madison, \$10—Samptown, \$4 50—Elizabethtown, \$30—Paterson, \$31—Jersey City, \$75—Burlington, \$25—Plainfield, \$1 75—Princeton, \$158 70—New Brunswick, \$128 08.

In addition to the above sums, there have been paid to the treasurer of the American Colonization Society, the following sums: from Pittsgrove, \$18—Fairfield, \$10—Greenwich, \$25—Making since last annual

meeting, a total contribution from New Jersey, in money and goods, of \$2,574 18.

We have not room to give the name of every individual donor, nor is it necessary, as the agent is careful to publish them all in the African Repository. We may however mention, without invidious distinctions, the liberality of Rev. C. Van Rensselaer, \$25, Rev. Dr. Janeway, \$50, D. S. Gregory, Esq., \$50, Rev. Dr. Alexander, \$100.

And in this connexion we take the opportunity to recommend to the public the "*History of the American Colonization Society*," prepared by Rev. Dr. Alexander, and lately published in Philadelphia. It is only necessary to mention the name of the author to give assurance of the value of the work.

The liberality which we have the pleasure to record, has resulted, of course, from the confidence reposed in the parent Society, and the well attested benefits which have attended their labors in the colonies and neighboring parts of Africa.

Liberia, only a few years ago the abode of savages and the centre of the abominable slave trade, now spreads its colonies along 300 miles of the western coast and is gradually extending in the interior.

It has a growing population, prospering in the mechanic arts, agriculture, trade and commerce—rejoicing in a republican government, in a code of good laws and moral and religious institutions—diffusing knowledge, the useful arts and Christianity among surrounding tribes, and while offering to her brethren in other lands a good, a free and a happy home, Liberia aids most efficiently in freeing Africa from the fearful wrongs under which she has groaned for centuries.

This cause is destined to triumph. In this conviction, while we rejoice

that it was originated by one of our fellow-citizens, we also rejoice that we have had the honor of co-operating in advancing thus far, and were renewedly pledge ourselves to its support.

The Board cannot conclude their report without adding, that all the operations of the society have mainly devolved upon our agent, the Rev. Samuel Cornelius; and that his services have been highly efficient and valuable. As long as the society shall be permitted to enjoy his agency, its objects and prospects cannot fail to be promoted.

All which is respectfully submitted on behalf of the managers of the New Jersey Colonization Society.

J. P. JACKSON,

Cor. Secretary.

After the reading of the report, its adoption was moved by Dr. D. M. REESE, of New York city, who proceeded to address the society with much interest and force of illustration, on the general objects of the colonization enterprise. Dr. Reese referred, in the course of his remarks, to the difficulties which the society has to encounter from the opposition of those who profess to be great friends of our colored population, but who really were nothing more than anti-colonizationists, and opposed to the true interests and permanent welfare of that unfortunate class. Dr. Reese also referred to the case of young Cornish, who, he said, was in education and address, every way a gentleman, and expressed large hopes of his future usefulness to the cause, through the influence which he would probably exert on the colored people of this country.

The report having been unanimously adopted, the Rev. Dr. EDDY, being called upon to make some statements in relation to the recent proceedings of the parent Society, of which he was one of the directors, made an interesting address, in which he declared it to be his firm conviction

that no benevolent society of the present day was so important in its consequences and objects as that of the Colonization Society.

On motion of Rev. S. I. PRIME, the thanks of the society were presented to Dr. D. M. Reese for attending our meeting, and for the able address which he had just made.

The following resolutions were then adopted on motion of Mr. J. P. BRADLEY:

Resolved, That the cause of colonization demands the best efforts, and the most cordial support of the Christian public in this country.

Resolved, That the parent Society has our confidence, and shall have all the support that we are able to give to it in the prosecution of its noble purposes.

Resolved, That the present condition of Liberia affords encouragement to hope for the establishment of Christianity and free institutions on a permanent basis in Africa.

Resolved, That the thanks of the society are due to those clergymen who have taken up collections in its aid; and that the clergy of this state generally, are hereby respectfully requested to take up collections for this object on or near the fourth day of July, and to transmit the same to MATTHIAS W. DAY, Esq., of Newark, the treasurer of the society.

On motion of J. P. JACKSON, Esq., the letter of Rev. Dr. Alexander, published with the proceedings of the last annual meeting, be referred to the Executive Committee.

On motion of J. P. BRADLEY—

Resolved, That the thanks of the society be hereby given to Rev. S. CORNELIUS, for his efficient performance of the duties devolving upon him as agent of the society; and that he be commended to the friends of colonization throughout the state.

On motion of Rev. S. CORNELIUS—

Resolved, That the officers of the past year be re-elected except so far

as death or removal may render a change necessary.

Whereupon the following officers were elected for the ensuing year.

President—JOSEPH C. HORN-BLOWER.

Vice Presidents—(one for each county)—Peter D. Vroom, William Rankin, Lewis Condict, James B. Elmendorf, Roswell L. Colt, Daniel Haines, D. S. Gregory, John B. Ay-crigg, William P. Robeson, Alexander Wurts, George W. Doane, Abraham Browning, Joseph Porter, T. G. Haight, L. Q. C. Elmer, Robert B. Johnson, Elias B. Caldwell, Jacob J. Janeway, Thomas H. Hughes.

Corresponding Secretary—John P. Jackson.

Recording Secretary—Joseph P. Bradley.

Treasurer—Mathias W. Day.

Managers—Dr. Alexander, Capt. Stockton, Prof. John Maclean, J. S. Green, R. S. Field, Wm. Pennington, William B. Kinney, Rev. M. H. Henderson, James Hague, jr., J. C. Garthwaite, Isaac Baldwin, Rev. C. Van Rensselaer, S. G. Potts, W. Halsted, Wm. L. Dayton, S. R. Hamilton, T. J. Stryker, H. W. Green, Rev. Dr. Magie, Reverend Dr. Murray, J. J. Bryant, Peter A. Johnson, James Newell, Wm. B. Ewing,

George W. Janvier, Rev. Samuel Cornelius, C. W. Mulford, Professor Cook, Wm. C. Morris and John Tyler.

Executive Committee—William Rankin, Isaac Baldwin, J. P. Jackson, Joseph P. Bradley and Mathias W. Day.

Agent—Rev. Samuel Cornelius.

Directors of the American Colonization Society—Rev. Ansel D. Eddy, D. D., Rev. J. J. Janeway, D. D., and Hon. Lucius Q. C. Elmer.

On motion of Rev. S. CORNELIUS—*Resolved*, That the executive committee have power to fill vacancies in the directors, and to add such further directors as the society may be entitled to send.

On motion of Dr. EDDY—

Resolved, That the executive committee confer with all the clergymen of the state on the subject of raising funds for the society.

Resolved, That the secretaries publish the proceedings of this meeting in the Newark Daily Advertiser and the New York Observer.

The society then adjourned to meet in Newark on the second Tuesday of November, 1847.

WM. RANKIN,

President.

J. P. BRADLEY, *Rec. Sec'y.*

[From the New York Journal of Commerce.]

Abolitionism—Colonization and its Advocates.

ABOLITIONISM.—The New York Evangelist contains a letter from the Rev. Dr. Cox, in which he speaks of the great temperance convention, and emphatically of the disturbance and mischief produced by certain American abolitionists, Messrs. Garrison, Frederick Douglass, &c., who are resolved to thrust their anti-slavery ultraism into the foreground on all possible occasions. Having mentioned the great variety of persons

present at this convention, and that they were from distant and widely separated countries, and the good results he anticipated from the earnest and harmonious deliberations of the members, Dr. C. observes:

“They all advocated the same cause, showed a glorious unity of thought and feeling, and the effect was constantly raised—the moral scene was superb and glorious, when Frederick Douglass, the colored abolition

agitator and ultraist, came to the platform, and so spake *a la mode* as to ruin the influence, almost, of all that preceded. He lugged in anti-slavery, or abolition, no doubt prompted to it by some politic ones, who can use him to do what they would not themselves adventure to do in person. He is supposed to have been well paid for the abomination.

“What a perversion, an abuse, an iniquity against the law of reciprocal righteousness, to call thousands together, and get them, some certain ones, to seem conspicuous and devoted for one sole grand object, and then, all at once, with obliquity, open an avalanche upon them for some imputed evil or monstrosity, for which, whatever be the wound or injury inflicted, they were both too fatigued and too hurried with surprise, and too straitened for time to be properly prepared. I say it is a trick of meanness! It is abominable!

“On this occasion, Mr. Douglass allowed himself to denounce America and all its temperance societies together, as a grinding community of the enemies of his people; said evil, with no alloy of good, concerning the whole of us; was perfectly indiscriminate in his severities, talked of the American delegates, and to them, as if he had been our school-master, and we his docile and devoted pupils; and launched his revengeful missiles at our country, without one palliative, and as if not a Christian or a true anti-slavery man lived in the whole of the United States. The fact is, the man has been petted, and flattered, and used, and paid by certain abolitionists not unknown to us, of the *ne plus ultra* stamp, till he forgets himself; and though he may gratify his own impulses, and those of old Adam in others, yet I am sure that all this is just the way to ruin his own influence, to defeat his own object, and

to do mischief, not good, to the very cause he professes to love. With the single exception of one cold-hearted parricide, whose character I abhor, and whom I will not name, and who has, I fear, no feelings of true patriotism or piety within him, all the delegates from our country were together wounded and indignant. No wonder at it! I write freely. It was not done in a corner. It was inspired, I believe, from beneath, and not from above. It was adapted to re-ignite on both sides of the Atlantic the flames of national exasperation and war. And this is the game which Mr. Frederick Douglass and his silly patrons are playing in England, and in Scotland, and wherever they can find ‘some mischief still, for idle hands to do!’ I came here his sympathising friend—I am such no more, as I more know him.

“My own opinion is increasing that this abominable spirit must be exorcised out of England and America, before any substantial good can be effected for the cause of the slave. It is adapted only to make bad worse, and to inflame the passions of indignant millions to an incurable resentment. None but an ignorant or a madman could think that this way was that of the inspired apostles of the Son of God. It may gratify the feelings of a self-deceived and malignant few, but it will do no good in any direction—least of all to the poor slave! It is short-sighted, impulsive, partisan, reckless, and tending only to sanguinary ends. None of this—with men of sense and principle.”

We are pleased to know that such are the present conclusions of Doctor Cox. We foresaw to what the doctrines of Mr. Garrison and his disciples tended and must come, ten years ago, and their acts now have certainly the merit of consistency with their original principles. The

public will judge what the principles must be, which not only sanction the conduct described by Dr. Cox, but which dispose the editors of the *Liberator* to republish without censure such specimens of decency and courtesy as the following:

[From the Herkimer Freeman.]

COLONIZATION AND ITS ADVOCATES.—At the 12th anniversary of the New York State Colonization Society, lately held in the city of New York, the Rev. Mr. Winans, of Mississippi, and Rev. Mr. Slicer, of Baltimore, (a couple of pious and reverend robbers,) fired some heavy pieces of artillery against the abolition "fanatics" of the north. The Rev. Dr. Parker, of Philadelphia, also discharged a small blunderbuss in the same direction—to prove his claim, we suppose, to the title of D. D.

It used to be said, eight or ten years ago, by the orators and organs of the Colonization Society, that they had no wish or intention to interfere with slavery—they only desired, if masters at the south saw fit to emancipate their bondmen, to furnish them a passage to Liberia, and a home there—that was all. But now the time is changed. The pious thieves above named, in their speeches at the anniversary meeting, exulted loudly in the prospect that the colonization scheme would "wipe from the soil of America every speck of the pollution of slavery!"

The knives are getting their eyes skinned; they begin to see that emancipation *must come*, and that speedily; and they would like to give the credit to the old colonization harlot, who is entitled to nothing save the public execration for the impediment which she has placed in the way of freedom. But hear the *Reverend* Mr. Winans, of Mississippi:

"The door that has been shut by

the misjudged efforts of the Abolitionists is again opened; and the south is beginning to understand that *abolitionists* are not the north or the east, but a little fraction, a few fanatics, who dare not look the truth in the face, and who are the enemies of every scheme that has wisdom and prudence to recommend it."

The author of this foul and lying imputation is the same smart and famous gentleman who in the late Methodist General Conference *defied any one to prove that slavery was wrong!* We fling back his falsehood and impudence into his brazen front, and tell him that the land-pirates of the south (including the reverend "wolves in sheep's clothing") are the villains, "who dare not look the truth in the face."

We have observed, that this style of abuse is seldom the resort of those who are not entirely destitute of better means of securing notoriety. We should hesitate to apply opprobrious epithets, for mere opinions, however erroneous; but surely those deserve severe public rebuke, who search through the whole vocabulary of denunciation and reproach, to find terms by which to stigmatize not only individuals, but whole bodies of Christian men, differing from themselves in regard to slavery, not so much in the end proposed, as in the manner and the means by which it shall be most beneficially, on the whole, attained. The London correspondent of the *Anti-Slavery Standard* says, that at the meeting of abolitionists at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, for the purpose of forming an *Anti-Slavery League*, at which the character of an abolitionist was denied to Dr. Cox; Mr. Sidney E. Morse, editor of the *New York Observer*, rose and corrected the error, and when catechised by the assembly, "stood his ground, assailed England for having entailed slavery

upon America, and pointed to the benevolent and successful efforts of the Colonization Society, in contrast with the wild, pernicious schemes of the abolitionists." Whereupon Mr. Garrison declared that Dr. Cox had presided as moderator in the New School General Assembly, and read extracts from speeches of slave-holding ministers in that body; and Mr. H. C. Wright* produced a letter in which the fact was stated, that "for his (Dr. Cox's) defence of the slave-holding ministers and elders, he had received the special thanks of that *man-stealing brotherhood!!*" The LEAGUE was organized, and Mr. Garrison announces to his American friends that they may speedily look for another visit from the great agitating philanthropist, Mr. George Thompson. We rejoice that there are now in Great Britain so many distinguished Americans, who will not permit the exaggerations, misrepresentations, and calumny, of Messrs. Garrison, Douglass, and Wright, to pass uncontradicted. A pamphlet on the slavery question, published by Mr. Sidney E. Morse, in Scotland, has made a profound impression on the leading minds of that country.

The Rev. Joshua Leavitt, in replying to a writer in the *Emancipator*, over the signature of "Iota," on the question why the Gospel has not abolished slavery at the south, and in allusion to one of the reasons alleged by "Iota," says:—

"The inconclusiveness of this reason is farther seen in the fact, that in those portions of the South where there has been the greatest amount of gospel, and for the longest time, no more has been done toward the abolition of slavery than in parts where there has been the least gospel; that is, in either case, *nothing* has been done. If there is any difference, it would seem that those sections where

there has been the most gospel, are now the most intensely devoted to slavery."

This we believe an egregious error. We have seen abundant evidence in every section of the south, that Christianity is working constantly, and well nigh universally, for the benefit and ultimate emancipation of the slave. The nature of Christianity itself, would teach us that it must be so; and our observation, and facts innumerable, demonstrate our theory. Nothing done towards the abolition of slavery! Is it nothing that a general conviction is wrought in the mind of the south that slavery is both a moral and political evil, for which remedies are to be sought and applied—that it cannot and ought not to be perpetual; that even its temporary existence or toleration can be justified only so far as they are sanctioned by the great Christian law of charity; that in its regulation this law must not in any one of its relations be violated; and that in fine, the idea is becoming more and more prevalent, that slaves, equally with other human beings, are under the protection and entitled to the beneficence of society. How they can best be instructed and elevated; how and when their servitude shall cease; where shall be their final home; and how far the change in their condition shall be the effect of individual justice and humanity; how far, and when, of state legislation; these are questions of grave import, not unregarded nor unconsidered at the south. Mr. Leavitt will recollect that the Gospel originally was likened by its Divine Author to the least of all seeds, and though destined by his promise to become a tree over-spreading the world, yet centuries elapsed before the Kingdom of Idolatry sunk into its shade. Was nothing done in the meantime? Do we expect to gather

the fruit to-morrow, of the seed we plant to-day? "First the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear," is as well the law of moral progress, as of nature. And could we look into the mind of the south—could we examine those hidden springs of action which finally develop themselves in great measures and achievements, we have no doubt we should discern that the sentiment of justice to the slaves, inspired by our religion, is one of the most powerful and rapidly progressive in that mind, of all sentiments. The end is not yet, but it will finally show itself in full proportions of beneficence and grandeur.

To the Free Colored People in the United States.

WE have lately had frequent occasion to allude to the present condition and undeniable prospects of the colored people, particularly in the free States. FACTS are almost daily transpiring which attest the truth of our reasoning on the subject, and the correctness of our conclusions. Look, for example, at what has lately occurred in the State of New York. We were told again and again that there would soon be given to the world the clearest evidence that the condition of the colored people was rapidly improving, and that they would, on the adoption of the new constitution, be admitted to vote at elections, and enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizens. They and their friends (so called) made prodigious efforts to secure this result. The article they desired was incorporated in the Constitution by the Convention, and was submitted to the test of the popular will at the late election, and *it was voted down by an overwhelming majority!* They therefore stand in a worse condition now than they did before. They have summoned all their strength, made their desperate

effort, and have failed. What hope, therefore, can they rationally entertain of success at any future time?

In connection with this subject we call particular attention to the following remarks by the editor of the Maryland Colonization Journal. They express our sentiments exactly. We have always advocated Colonization on the ground and for the reasons which he specifies.

INTERESTING TO THE FREE PEOPLE
OF COLOR.

We insert below some articles from the Abolition papers, to which we desire to call the attention of all, and more especially of our colored readers. We referred to the same subject in our August number.

We have always professed to be the friend of the colored man. We advocate colonization as his friend. We are satisfied that the active colonizationists in Maryland do the same. Some persons, we know, support the society with a view to its missionary agencies; others look to it as a means of ultimately effecting a *political* good for Maryland: there are those who think that, by its means, the free colored people may be removed from a contact with the slaves, which is injurious to the latter; and there are those, who believe that it will promote a voluntary

emancipation of the slaves, until at last Maryland shall rank among the free states of the Union. Persons, we say, are to be found, entertaining these opinions respectively. But *we* are colonizationists, because we are the friends of the colored man. We are satisfied that this country can never be for him but a temporary abiding place. It can never be the permanent home of his people. They may stay here for generations yet. But generations are as days in the existence of nations. The time of the Exodus may be remote, or it may be at hand. But that it must arrive, is as certain as that to-morrow followeth to-day; and the elements from which to calculate the advent are to be found in such facts as are mentioned in the extracts referred to.

Whenever the avenues of employment become crowded, whenever the price of labor is brought low by competition, whenever it is a favor to be employed, instead of being, as it now is, a favor to work, then the colored man will know that the time, which we say, must come, is at hand. *In the strife for bread the colored man will go to the wall.* It is a solemn sense of duty that makes us say these things. The subject is too grave an one—concerns the happiness of too many—to be dealt with lightly; and we would be doing wrong, were what we now urge to have no other basis than our mere opinion. But we might almost say, that we expressed no opinion—that we merely called attention to the hand-writing of daily events, which all might read who did not close their eyes in obstinacy. The colored men

in New York do not drive hacks or drays. Why is this? New York is in a free state. The reason is a plain one. New York is the largest city in our country, attracting to it, by its very size, a still increasing population. Labor is more abundant there than in smaller cities, or in the rural districts. For the employments of the poor there are more competitors. The white man, with political power on his side, has elbowed out the black man. The answer to the question, then, is to be found in the principle which we have stated. We might multiply instances of a like character, even here in Baltimore, but it is unnecessary.

Hereafter, when what now takes place in New York shall be universal throughout the land—when the colored man, in place, whether as hackman, or waiter, or ploughman, shall be envied by the white man out of place, who shall strive to supplant him, that a white family may be supported, rather than a colored one, by the wages which the head of the latter receives—when this state of things comes to pass, colonization will be hailed by the colored people of Maryland, as their best friend, for it will have provided for them, beyond the reach of all the influences to which we have alluded, asylums to which the oppressed may flee from the wrath that is to come.

We ask our colored friends to ponder these things well. We ask them to believe that it is a friend who speaks to them, who has no interest to mislead them, and who, in speaking as is here spoken, discharges what is conceived to be a duty, which it would be criminal to neglect.

Africa.

A recent American traveller, describing Cape Coast, in Western Africa, says: "The town is three or

four miles in circumference, and contains about 7,000 inhabitants, mostly native Africans. But the most inte-

resting feature in this place is the English Methodist mission, which has been established about twelve years. The mission house is a commodious stone building, on an elevation commanding a fine view of the ocean. They have a church 70 feet by 40. They have employed in the mission six European and sixty native African teachers and assistants. Twenty stations, embracing an ex-

tent of country 400 miles to the coast, and 200 in the interior. They have in all, about 800 church members. All their teaching and labor is done by natives. They have also, one of the most interesting congregations I have seen in Africa; the chapel was full, all natives but ten or twelve. Nearly 300 of them were said to be members of the church.—*N. Y. Spectator.*

Review of Dr. Alexander's History of Colonization.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for October contains a very able and interesting article on this subject. We are rejoiced to find this important periodical thus powerfully advocating the great principles im-

bodied in the colonization enterprise. We transfer the article at length to our columns, and assure our readers that they will be abundantly repaid by a careful and thorough perusal of it.

Letter from Dr. Lugenbeel.

ALEXANDRIA, D. C.,
November 2d, 1846.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—Presuming that a short account of my visit to Vermont may be acceptable to some of the readers of the Repository, I will give you a brief sketch of my sojourn in the Green Mountain state.

On my arrival at Burlington, on the evening of the 20th ultimo, I learned from the Secretary of the Vermont Colonization Society, (Rev. J. K. Converse,) that a mistake had been made in his letter of invitation, relative to the time of the holding of the annual meeting of that society; consequently, I arrived too late to attend the meeting. As he had, however, received my reply to his letter before the 15th ult., the day on which the meeting of the Board was held, the disappointment was not so great, he being able to give notice of my expected visit on the 22d.

From Burlington I proceeded to

Montpelier, on the morning of the 22d; and, on my arrival at the latter place, additional notice was given, by handbills, of my intention to deliver an address on African Colonization, in the evening. Notwithstanding the weather was rather inclement, yet I had a very respectable and remarkably polite and attentive audience; some of whom were ultra abolitionists. After having spoken more than an hour, I requested the hearers to propound any questions relative to Liberia, which they might desire; and, for nearly an hour longer, I was employed in answering the numerous and varied interrogatories which were propounded to me. The spirit which was exhibited in the questions did not seem to be that of opposition, but a disposition and desire to learn the real state of things in Liberia, from one who had resided there, and in whose statements, given in all simplicity, and with a strict regard to facts

without exaggeration, they seemed to place confidence.

On the following day, I visited the Legislature, then in session—had an interview with his excellency, Gov. Eaton, and with several members of both houses. To the Rev. Mr. Gridley, a gentleman who has heretofore been rather ultra in his abolition principles, but who, I think, is now a decided friend of colonization, I am particularly indebted for his kindness and hospitality. I have no doubt that his influence will be highly beneficial to the cause.

On Saturday I returned to Burlington, and, agreeably to a previous engagement, and to public notice, I addressed a large assembly of the citizens of that place, on Sunday evening, the 25th. The same spirit of interest was exhibited, as at Montpelier. All the leading abolitionists of Burlington were present, and similar marked respect and confidence were manifested, as at the previous meeting.

The uncompromising spirit of ultra abolitionism, which was formerly exhibited by many of the leading men of Vermont, seems to have assumed a much milder tone; and the former unyielding opposition to the colonization scheme, has evidently given place, to a considerable extent, to a spirit of patient submission to the power of truth. And I have no doubt that, in a few years, the cause of African colonization, in the operations of which the guidance and direction of an overruling Providence are so clearly discernible, will triumph over every opposing influence, and, as a benevolent enterprise, fraught with incalculable blessings to the colored race, will command the respect, the admiration, and the patronage, of all the friends of humanity, the enemies of slavery, and the votaries of religion.

Yours, truly,

J. W. LUGENBEEL.

REV. W. McLAIN,
Sec'y & Treas'r Am. Col. Soc.

Letters from Mr. Pinney and Mr. Kenworthy.

PITTSBURG, Oct. 24th, 1846.

REV. WM. McLAIN:—*Dear Sir:*

I enclose Mr. Jesse Kenworthy's letter, thinking, perhaps, you would like to publish a part of it. Eight years ago, as I passed through Washington county, he met me at a small village where I lectured,—a plain unpretending friend,—wearing the apparel peculiar to them, and surprised me by a donation of fifty dollars. Subsequently, I received his encouragement when many hearts fainted, and twice a donation of fifty dollars. He was once an agent for the cause out of pure zeal, and when he found most of his church were leaning to modern abolitionism, he contented himself to hold his own opinions in charity, and aid by his

liberal donations. Mr. Kenworthy is a small, but most excellent farmer, and his liberality is therefore the result of method and principle, rather than the gift of superfluous wealth. Would that many friends of our cause and of the African race could copy his example; how rapidly would our colony grow in numbers and influence.

Very truly yours,

J. B. PINNEY.

SECOND DAY, MORNING,

Tenth Month, 19th, 1846.

BROWNVILLE, FAYETTE Co.

FRIEND PINNEY:—As I continue to feel a deep interest in the welfare of our colored people, not only in their liberation from bondage, but also that they may be placed in a

situation to enjoy their freedom—I herewith send thee fifty dollars for the use of the Colonization Society; desiring that it may be applied to the removal of one of those who have the offer of freedom, and incline to accept it on the ground of their going to Liberia. For though the limited means of the Society prevent it from doing anything like what would be desirable, yet, as those who have

been favored to get there, consider their situation so much bettered by the change, and the influence of the colony continues to be so beneficial toward the civilization and Christianization of Africa, and in checking the slave trade, I hope it may receive due encouragement.

JESSE KENWORTHY.

PER J. B. P.

Another Letter from a Georgian.

To the Rev. WM. McLAIN:

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—I have, in the September number of the Repository, read your commentary on my letter of July. I acknowledge an error in supposing due to man, if I did, what was due only to the LORD, whatever blessing has accrued to the African race through the inescapable providence of the slave trade. But even while I wrote it, I could not feel at all favorable to that business—alluding only to the *incidental results*—and you but did me justice in the concluding part of your (4) remarks. As the one is now happily by Protestant countries done away, I hope forever, it may be hoped that the spirit which worked it, would continue to actuate governments to still increased benevolence; until in the language of the late esteemed Mr. Key, my friend, the “Flag of our country be thrown around the helpless and abandoned.”

Want of faith in God, I am persuaded, is the sole thing that draws men and governments back from pursuing the way *conscience repeatedly points out*, and to which never to be mistaken enjoyments in the Gospel direct. Men pause and wait for the Gospel to make *others* good; others pause and wait for the same result in *them*; and a solemn stillness and inactivity becomes the order of the day!

Because men, alike legislators and people—rulers and ruled—cannot speculate upon *what is the Deity!* they by an easy transition from temporary excitement of mind and feeling, become partial sceptics as to His existence. At any rate, they philosophise on the Universe, and call Him the soul of the whole, and finally discard from all vital conception of belief the name of Jesus Christ.

This was the fatal idiosyncrasy that made that proud intellect Voltaire, or Volney, or Atombic, or Hume, what either was. In society, something like this too, renders men in and out of power, mistrustful and dissatisfied, and finally callous and indifferent. True, in Congress and our several state legislatures, they work ostensibly for the public good, but really for mawkish fame, before the estimation of men. How can this be doubted when we see the clearest and simplest postulates divided into two or more *sides*, with learned partizans on either! Before God do these men really *believe themselves*, on all.

Want of religious faith, an entire reliance on the Saviour, a hopeful trust in God, an aspiration for the residence in their hearts of the Holy One—this, and this alone, seals up our government to the cry of Africa, and makes the expenditures of Congress so unavailingly secular.

How many thousands are lavish on internal improvements, where these improvements be of secondary utility—some, none, whatever? Meanwhile, awaiting the faint aid of the Colonization Society, stand thousands of blacks hopeless of seeing their father-land.

Nor is this all, society in the line domestic, refuses

to allow servants a bit of education. I mean lettered instruction; just enough to enable slaves to read how they should serve God and obey their masters. The immense body of our negroes are untaught. They hear preaching, and many are exemplary Christians; but why seclude them from that God which converts the ferocity of the wildest savages into the pacific disposition of the lamb? Is there any real danger in this crumbling every negro child to have a twelve months' schooling? Did the Scriptures ever foment insurrection; encourage insubordination; engender revolution; or instil acrimonious passions in human nature? What country had an example of successful insurrection and shocking barbarity? St. Domingo. And there they had no learning, no preaching—nearly all the insurgents were native Africans; they also numbered sixteen to every white person, and had likewise the assistance of the British arms, and the wiles of the abandonment of the infidels, who then ruled in France. [Vide Edwards' History of that Isle.] What white nation have more consulted a country and overwhelmed their neighbors than the French during the horrors of their revolution? Two-thirds of them could not read, and the other one-third had been generally denied the Scriptures by their priests, or had vile and hurtful literature opposed to the word of life. Even South America and Mexico, periodically and successfully, evidencing their resolute desire for a change of rulers, refusing to await the patient recurrence of elections; but resorting abruptly to the speedy settlement of the sword. Even they are Catholics without Bibles, having a priesthood who stand them instead thereof, and utterly ignorant and indifferent to the solid and vital precepts of Jesus Christ, as coming pure from His voice.

What have I said? Any thing against any part of the country, the laws, and constitution, or detrimental to either? Certainly not! Yet, can any one say this letter is unbefitting the Repository? Some may. With them, God preserve me from blows! They would compel every man to hide his light under perpetual bushels. I have remarked nothing going to injure any thing belonging to this republic, or connected with the great world. My solitary object has been to specify the prevailing want of godliness in our country's councils! and the same want to any vital degree in some states! and I have pointed to the consequence. One of which is to deny the negro any tuition, as if the reading of the Bible was dangerous, when the *not* reading thereof I plainly exhibited, comprised all the peril!

Why not let the descendants of Africa learn to read, and to spend his Sunday holidays at home, poring over God's inestimable lessons, instead of causing them, for lack of argument, to gab about on that sacred day, committing often mischiefs or sin.

Do this, and when faithful Christian servants be

emancipated for Liberia, they may go prepared in part here, with that civilization which is to convert Africa.

Mental philosophy teaches us that excepting the most sensual, stolid, and brutified of men, none enjoy existence except in the ideas and moral feelings that possess and actuate their sensibilities. The act of reflecting on a well spent life; meditations on the order, harmony and designs of Providence, as we can observe them; these free from disturbed fancies, and also from that indifference which belong to the callous stoick, exquisitely constitute man's happiness on this diurnal sphere. How can we enjoy this life with ever so many servants, while we deny them education and instruct our own children at splendid seminaries and colleges? *As Christians, have we any balm to his soul, in the idea that our slaves cannot read the Gospel?* Any consolation in the retrospect that we could have better prepared them for that hereafter to which we are all bound? Any excuse from ad before the date of this exposing letter, on the score, that by placing the Gospel of Jesus and traces in their hands, we are merely putting swords and bayonets in their reach in disguise? What a mockery of Heaven! Do, my fellow citizens, educate your slaves and make them thereby more faithful, more attentive, humble, grateful and worthy beings. Have no longer before you the melancholy vicinity of innumerable learning and savage ignorance.

Reverend sir, in my July letter, I essayed to premonish our Liberian friends as to some conduct in their national character towards the rest of mankind. In this, I endeavor to admonish "my own brethren according to the flesh," of duties paramount and intense, which God being judge, we cannot put off under color or pretence of fears, constitutions, localities, principalities, or any thing else a teeming or prolific mind can conceive. The admonition is not too late to Congress—a vital one. It comes back to my neighbors and friends, and all I hold dear. I hope while I give not offence, and that if any be susceptible of being given, that myself alone, not the Society, may en-

sure the censure, which certainly can fix nowhere, and that I may not plead altogether in vain.

Very respectfully, and affectionately yours,
J. J. FLOURNOY.

Farm nigh Athens, Georgia,
September, 1846.

P. S. Commonly, plauters object to instructing by letters, slaves in parts done with them, and thin of the white inhabitants, for the reason that emissaries from some incendiary society might disseminate among them fatal and *discontenting* publications, and thereby incite horrid insurrection. This, in part, is a strong apology for forsaking negro education; and as it goes entirely against the poor slave, it is one of the severe responsibilities for which, to God, abolitionists have to answer. Their motto operates as much as to say: "Either free the negro, or crush him!!" They continually kiss him with a Job's salutation to Abner. Well might our slaves cry "oh save us from such friends." Nevertheless, weighty as this objection be, cannot plauters by a rigid police system, and frequent periodical examination, deter the introduction among the slaves of any literature, but that *universal property* of the human race—the Book of God?

NOTE.—Your remarks on expenses of emigrants to Liberia, are satisfactory and corrective of my error on that point. *A staunch well built ship*, owned by the Society, one that would *endure*, and also trade between this country and Liberia and the natives, in dye stuffs, gold, ivory, oil, cloths, cutlery, etc., etc., would be a valuable desideratum. The Society had a vessel under the administration of the Hon. Mr. Wilkeson, which was soon parted with. A better barque, coppered and copper-fastened, commanded by an intrepid, public spirited and complete navigator, withal *new*, and of well seasoned timbers, with faithful crews, well enumerated, besides transferring such emigrants as be ready, making every trip profitable by interchanging our manufactures with the citizens or natives for African productions, would relieve the Society of much expenditure, and facilitate colonization.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 20th October, to the 20th November, 1846.

MAINE.

By Capt. George Barker:—
Gardiner—Robert H. Gardiner,
jr., subscription for 1845, 1846,
and 1847..... 30 00

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

By Rev. Henry Wilbur:—
Portsmouth—From Daniel R. Rogers, \$4, Miss Mary Rogers and other ladies of the North Congregational church, \$17, Rev. Chas. Burroughs, D. D., \$1 50, C. W. Brewster, \$1, Deacon Knight, 50 cents..... 24 00
Greenland—From a few friends of colonization..... 3 82
Hampton—From friends of colonization..... 6 84

34 66

VERMONT.

By Dea. Samuel Tracy:—
St. Albans—H. Seymour..... 2 00
Hartford—A. Hazen, \$1 94, Mrs. N. Newton, \$1, J. S. Wood, \$1. 3 94
Norwich—Contribution..... 6 22
Weathersfield—From a friend.... 2 00
Putney—J. Grant, annual sub-

scription, \$5, Capt. Hutchens, \$1, collection, \$1 84..... 7 84
Bennington—C. Ellingwood, \$1, Dr. N. Swift, \$1, Rev. J. J. Abbott, \$1..... 3 00
Manchester—Rev. J. Wickham, \$1, Josiah Burton, \$3 50, Cyrus Munson, \$1..... 5 50
Benson—John Kellog, \$1, Mrs. Betsey Kent, 25 cents, Miss Juliette Kent, 25 cents..... 1 50
Bridport—Rev. Dana Lamb..... 1 00
Cornwall—Jesse Ellsworth, \$1, M. M. Blake, 50 cents, Dea. Dan'l Warner, \$1, Dea. Horace Janes, \$1, Asa Bond, 25 cts. 3 75
Middlebury—Prof. Twining, \$1, Rev. S. G. Coe, \$1 50, Rev. Dr. Merrill, \$1, C. Birge, \$1, A. Wilcox, \$1, Charles Lindsley, \$1, Joseph Warner, \$1, O. Seymour, \$1..... 8 50
Strafford—Miss Susan Walker... 1 00
Royallon—Dea. A. Hartshorn, 50 cents, Dr. J. A. Denison, jr., \$1, Mrs. S. Washburn, 25 cts., Rev. C. B. Drake, \$1, Harry Bingham, 50 cents..... 3 25

<i>Castleton</i> —Harvey Griswold.....	50
<i>Tunbridge</i> —F. Sturtevant, 50 cts., James Brown, 25 cents, Mrs. Dr. Chandler, 25 cents.....	1 00
<i>Barre</i> —Cash, 10 cents, J. Wood, \$1, L. Ketchum, 50 cents, J. Ketchum, \$1, John Dodge, 50 cents, David Carlton, 75 cents, cash, 33 cts., Osborn Trow, \$1.	5 23
<i>Montpelier</i> —Thomas Reed, \$3, J. Y. Vail, H. H. Reed, Samuel Goss, Genl. E. P. Walton, N. Harvey, Hon. Joseph Howes, P. F. Merrill, Hon. S. Prentiss, Colonel Washburn, Judge Redfield, Dr. J. Spaulding, Mrs. Loomis, Dea. Wm. Howes, Rev. Jno. B. Manser, Rev. Jno. Gridley, each \$1, Mrs. Colonel Washburn, 25 cents.....	18 25
<i>Dummerston</i> —Contribution of Congregational church.....	3 00
<i>Coventry</i> —Hon. E. Cleveland.....	1 50
From the Vermont colonization society, by Daniel Baldwin, tr.:— <i>Montpelier</i> —C. W. Storrs, \$2, Hon. Wm. Upham, \$2, J. T. Thurston, 50 cents, Charles Dewey, 50 cents.....	5 00
<i>Enosburgh</i> —Collection in Congregational Society.....	8 25
<i>Thetford</i> —Collection in Congregational Society.....	2 56
<i>Brookfield</i> —Zelotes Bigelow, \$1, Simon Colton, \$2, Captain A. Edson, \$5, Captain S. Edson, 50 cts., Mrs. P. Edson, 25 cts., Mrs. P. Lyman, 25 cents, David Bigelow, \$1, cash, 10 cents, Eliha Allis, \$2, J. H. Hopkins, 50 cents, H. H. Ingles, Esq., 50 cents, A. H. Bigelow, 50 cents, Dea. S. Griswold, \$1, Mrs. J. Truman, 50 cts., Saml. Pope, 50 cts., Chas. E. Bigelow, 25 cents, Homer Hatch, Esq., 50 cents, Capt. J. S. Allen, \$1, Ariel Burnham, Esq., 50 cents, Renben Peck, Esq., \$2, J. C. Wheatley, 25 cts., Major John Wheatley, \$5, Luther Wheatley, \$2, Major Daniel Colt, \$1.	23 10
<i>Craftsbury</i> —Hon. S. S. Crafts, \$1, Rev. S. R. Hall, \$1.....	2 00
<i>Shelburne</i> —Collection in Methodist Society.....	9 50
<i>Barnett</i> —Henry Stevens.....	2 00
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CONNECTICUT.	
<i>Fairfield</i> —Collection in First Congregational Church, by Samuel A. Nichols, Esq.....	23 59
NEW YORK.	
<i>Caroline</i> —Dr. Joseph Speed, for	

temperance tracts for schools in Liberia.....	10 00
<i>New York City</i> —James Lenox, Esq., towards the \$15,000 fund for the purchase of territory, by Rev. John B. Pinney.....	1,000 00
	<hr/> 1,010 00

PENNSYLVANIA.

By Rev. John B. Pinney:—

<i>Pittsburg</i> —Thomas Bakewell, \$20, N. Holmes, \$10, A. B. Curling, \$10, F. Bailey, \$10, Alexander Laughlin, \$10, W. McClintock, \$10, F. Lorentz, \$10, Jno. Bissell, \$10, Rev. Prof. Green, \$10, Mary L. Kerwin, \$10, G. Cochran, \$5, D. C. Stockton, \$5, J. Schoonmaker, \$5, W. Bagaley, \$5, Thos. R. White, \$5, George R. White, \$5, John Shipton, \$5, Robert Dabzel, \$5, M. Leech, \$5, M. Underwood, \$5, John McFadden, \$5, Wm. McCully, \$5, Mr. Sterling, \$5, John T. Logan, \$5, R. Edwards, \$5, Mrs. Mary Thompson, \$5, Dr. Hunt, \$5, J. D. Wick, \$5, George A. Berry, \$3, John D. McCord, \$3, cash, \$3, Mrs. Blair, \$3, Thomas White, \$3, Robt. McCutcheon, \$3, R. Loomis, \$1, A. Bidwell, \$1, Samuel McClain, \$1, John Dixon, \$1, cash, \$1, cash, \$1, cash, \$1, cash, \$1, cash, \$1, cash, \$1, Mr. Spencer, \$1, E. Hazelton, \$1, S. J. McKnight, \$1, cash, 50 cents, collection in Second Presbyterian Church, \$26, collection in Mount Pisgah Presbyterian church, by Rev. Mr. Jennings, \$4.....	271 50
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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

<i>Washington City</i> —J. H. B. Smith, Esq., legacy left the American Colonization Society by his father, the late Saml. H. Smith, Esq.....	200 00
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VIRGINIA.

<i>Richmond</i> —Annual donation from the Rev. Robert Ryland, per Rev. Wm. McLain.....	50 00
<i>Warrenton</i> —Collection in Methodist church, by Dr. Lugenbeel.....	4 00
<i>Millwood</i> —Collection in Christ's church, Fred'k. Parish, Clark County, by Robt. C. Randolph, M. D., church warden.....	56 70
<i>Norfolk</i> —James H. Behan, Esq., balance due on account of legacy left by the late W. Herron.....	150 00
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SOUTH CAROLINA.

Abbeville District—Contribution of "a friend of colonization" . . . 3 00

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By Rev. John B. Pinney:—
Cincinnati—From Mrs. Martha Olmsted 200 00

INDIANA.

By Rev. B. T. Kavanaugh:—
Laporte—Samuel Organ, \$30, Jacob Early, \$30, Rev. T. P. Cummings, Mrs. Ann S. Rose, W. J. Walker, G. A. Rose, each \$5, D. G. Rose, B. P. Walker, James M. Clorer, J. C. Walker, Rev. C. M. Holliday, Rev. J. W. Cunningham, Rev. James Greer, Rev. Wm. Andrew, E. S. Organ, Rev. M. Hamlin, each \$1 90 00

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Connersville—Dr. D. D. Hall, \$1, S. Little, 50 cents 1 50

Princeton—From Mrs. Jane Kell, to constitute Mrs. M. Boggs, of Walnut Hill, Jefferson co., Illinois, a life member of the American Colonization Society. 30 00

132 00

ILLINOIS.

Upper Alton—From Rev. Adril Sherwood 2 00

MISSISSIPPI.

Adams County—Collection in Pine Ridge Presbyterian Church, near Natchez, Rev. B. H. Williams, pastor 27 00

Louisville—Donation from "a friend" 10 00

37 00

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FOR REPOSITORY.

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CONNECTICUT.—*Thompsonville*—Rev. Joseph Harvey, for subscription, to February, 1846 . . . 3 00

NEW YORK.—By Capt. George

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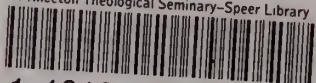


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